

A STUDY AND TRANSCRIPTION OF DOCUMENTS RELATED
TO THE HISTORY OF BISHOP'S MILL

by

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a study of Bishop's Mill in Thetford, England. Through an examination of three original documents related to the mill and bibliographical support sources, we have tried to trace the ownership of the mill and to discover when it became a paper mill. Shorter's documentation shows that it was a paper mill in 1753.¹ Our evidence shows that the mill was already producing paper some thirty to fifty years before that date.

The town of Thetford is an old town and was once the metropolis of the kingdom of East Anglia. The Danes sacked the city in ca 870, a battle in which King Edmund was martyred.² It was sacked again by the Danes in 1004 and 1009. For a period of twenty years, Thetford was the seat of the East Anglian bishopric. It was moved there from Elmham by Bishop Herfast in 1075 after a council directed that English bishops should reside in the cities rather than the villages.³ St. Mary's Church, located on the Suffolk side of the river in Thetford, became the cathedral church of the diocese. Bishop Herfast died in 1086 and he was succeeded by William de Bellafago. His consecration as bishop of Thetford took place on September 1, 1086. His tenure was short

¹A.H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495-1800*, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, vol. VI (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1957), p. 219.

²*Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent; from the Earliest Antiquity*, vol. II. By William Camden. Translated... by Richard Gough, 1789, pp. 101-102. See also William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London: Archibald Constable, 1906), pp. 216-17.

³Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, p. 219.

however, and he was succeeded by Herbert Losinga in 1091. Bishop Herbert was a tremendously wealthy and powerful man, and by virtue of that power and wealth managed to obtain the bishopric at Thetford. However, the appointment to the East Anglian bishopric was irregular "especially when it was a burning question in all the churches of Europe whether a bishop could be considered canonically a bishop of any see to which he had not been duly invested with his ring and staff by the pope of Rome."⁴ Consequently, Bishop Herbert decided to legitimize his position with Rome, and while in Rome, he received his formal investiture from Pope Urban II. Bishop Herbert returned to England in the year 1095 and moved the bishop's seat to Norwich. From this moment all the bishops of the East Anglian see became the bishops of Norwich.⁵

The removal of the bishop's seat from Thetford to Norwich was, according to one writer, "the ruin of this town."⁶ Thetford however, retained quite a number of religious houses.⁷ Moreover, in 1534 a suffragan bishopric was instituted at Thetford.⁸ It is possible that "Bishop's Mill" derives its name from the fact that it stood on lands owned by the bishop or suffragans of Thetford. There are also other interesting possibilities. From the description in the documents, it is not entirely clear whether the mill stood on the Suffolk or Norfolk side of Thetford. We read that the Austin canons of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre received from Hamelin, Earl Warenne, the tithes of two mills at ca the turn of the thirteenth century.⁹ We know that the priory was located on the Suffolk side of the river. If indeed the mills were on the lands of the Austin canons, and if Bishop's Mill

⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 220. ⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 220.

⁶*Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description*, vol. II, p. 102.

⁷The religious houses of Thetford are given in Appendix I. Full descriptions are found in *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, pp. 315-466. The relevant numbers are: 14, 19, 33, 60, 61, 97-102, and 114.

⁸Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, p. 254.

⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 392.

was located on the Suffolk side of Thetford, could one of the mills have been Bishop's Mill? Another possibility is that it may have been converted from a priory to a mill after dissolution of a priory. With the accession of Henry VIII, many priories were dissolved and passed on to landowners.¹⁰ Some were converted to barns and farm buildings.¹¹

We can also speculate as to the origin of some of the landmarks mentioned in the indentures. The St. Mary's Church, mentioned in the second and third indentures, could have been the priory of the Cluniac monks which was moved to the Norfolk side of Thetford ca 1107.¹² On the other hand, it could also have been the chapel of the College of Baily End, or Gild of St. Mary in Thetford. Apparently, the chapel of the college was located in the market-place of Thetford.¹³ Indeed, the wording of line 14 in the second indenture, that is, "the late Chappell of St. Mary," suggests the latter since at the writing of the second indenture (1719) the Chapel of St. Mary had long since been broken down.¹⁴ The reference to "Saint Maries Church" in line 24 of the third indenture is more vague. However, its apparent proximity to Nunns Bridges, as is the case in the second indenture, suggests that it may have been the same St. Mary's chapel or church.

Nunns Bridges, mentioned in the second and third indentures, may owe its name to William Nunne of Thetford. In 1272, he granted to the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre "a messuage in the town towards procuring habits for the canons."¹⁵ The naming of places is usually not arbitrary and we can be quite certain that the landmarks mentioned in the indentures bear a close relationship to the religious houses in Thetford.

¹⁰See for example the description of the priories in Thetford in *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, no. 19, p. 368, or no. 33, p. 393 etc.

¹¹*Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description*, vol. 11, p. 102.

¹²Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, p. 363.

¹³*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 460. ¹⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 461.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 392.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

In transcribing the documents, we decided that we should present the reader with a diplomatic transcription. Accordingly, all the original spelling is maintained and the amount of editing is kept to a minimum. However, in some cases decisions were required because certain peculiarities of the documents could not be reproduced in typescript and some abbreviations required expansion. To that end, we have formulated editorial procedures which could be applied with a degree of consistency, while recognizing that some decisions were arbitrary and subject to our own interpretation. Any diplomatic transcription will never be completely satisfactory when reproduced in modern typescript.

The problems encountered were: 1) distinguishing initial capitals from miniscules, especially problematic with the "c", "f", and "s"; 2) how to represent abbreviations; 3) how to insert text that appears above the line and was added somewhat later as an afterthought by the scribe; 4) how to represent superior letters, e.g. "y^e"; 5) how to represent calligraphic incipits; and 6) the spacing of the handwriting.

The solution to the problem of initial capitals and miniscules was mainly one of judgement. The initial letters "c" and "s" were especially problematic. The forms of these initial capitals and miniscules are very similar and sometimes differ only in size. We compared these letters to other forms of the letters in the document and tried to analyse the intention of the scribe. Our judgement was formed on this basis. The letter "f" presented less of a problem. If the double "ff" was at the beginning of a word requiring a capital, it was taken to be a capital and transcribed accordingly. If it appeared in the middle or at the end of a word, it was transcribed as "ff" (if indeed it appeared in that form).

Abbreviations in the documents presented fewer problems and we

could apply consistent editorial procedures. Expansions are indicated by the addition of square brackets. Thus, for example, "Norff" is transcribed as "Norff[olk]". The omission of a letter in a word or name may or may not be indicated by a tittle, but, in our opinion, the intention of the scribe is usually clear. Words such as "reversion" may appear as "rever̃son" or simply as "reversion". These words are always transcribed as "rever[si]on", indicating to the reader that it has been expanded. The English thorn, which sometimes apperas as "y^e" and other times simply as "the", is always transcribed as "the" and no indication is given of the form in which it appears in the document. The ampersand, which appears in the shape of a capital "C" with a descender below the line, is transcribed as a modern ampersand (&). Appendix II gives hand-drawn facsimiles of the abbreviations and our interpretation of them.

In some cases, the text was written above the line. It was apparently an afterthought added somewhat later by the scribe. In our opinion, the hand appears to be the same as that of the main body of the document and it cannot be considered a genuine later addition. We have simply inserted the text at the place indicated by the scribe (which he usually indicated by a circumflex, i.e. ^), and enclosed it in these brackets { }. In the indenture of 1697, the proper names and place names appear to be a genuine later addition. The hand is distinctly different and the ink is a different colour. Attention is drawn to these by a single dagger (+) immediately after the proper or place name and an explanation will be given in a single footnote.

Superior letters, as in "y^e" for example, and superior abbreviations are brought down to the line. No attention is drawn to them. Calligraphic incipits are transcribed in capital letters. Lines that have been filled in by the scribe are not indicated. However, the end of a single line of text, i.e. from left to right in the indenture and not a grammatical line, is indicated by a slash (/). Moreover, every fifth line is numbered for convenience of the reader. In some cases the text was illegible either because the document was damaged or because the writing was illegible. This is enclosed in half-brackets and the approximate number of letters is indicated, e.g. (-----). If some letters are legible but we cannot interpret the entire word, it

will appear as '---and'. Sometimes we simply do not know the word and this is presented as 'mooeing?').

The spacing of the words is a difficult problem to overcome when transcribing into modern typescript and we are at best presenting a surrogate of the documents. Words are sometimes joined which are not meant to be joined and vice versa. In some cases it can be attributed to carelessness by the scribe and, consequently, we have separated these words. In other cases, the scribe's intention is not clear and we have had to make an arbitrary decision based on other occurrences in the document. Thus, for example, we have to decide whether "six-hundred" is meant to appear as "six hundred" or "sixhundred". Our decision is based on an examination of other occurrences within the particular document and also on what we perceive to be the custom.

Legend of the Symbols Used in the Transcriptions

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| [] | - | indicates expansion of abbreviations |
| & | - | modern substitute for the ampersand |
| { } | - | indicates text written above the line but inserted at the place indicated by the scribe |
| † | - | indicates a later addition |
| () | - | indicates words that are illegible. The approximate number of missing letters is indicated by dashes within the half-brackets, e.g. '-----'). |
| / | - | indicates the end of a single line of text running from left to right across the indenture |

THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

Description

Illuminated parchment indenture with stamp, dated February 4, 1697, between Sarah Flanner of the county of Norfolk of the one part and Thomas Sherman, miller, of the other part. 74.5 cm x approximately 52 cm.

Transcription

THIS INDENTURE made the fourth day of February in the nynth yeare of the raign of our Sovereign Lord King William {the third}+ Annoq Dom 1697 / Between Sarah+ Flanner of Thetford+ in the county of Norff[olk]+ Spinster daughter & heire of William Flan[n]er the elder late of Thetford aforesaid Ironmonger & Sister / & heire of William Flanner the younger deceased who was son & heire (whilest he Lived) of the said William Flanner the Elder of the one P[art] And Thomas Sherman of Lynn Regist+ / in the county of Norff[olk]+ aforesaid+ miller of the other part Whereas the said William Flanner the Elder in his life time by Indenture beareing date the Twentyninth day of September / in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand Six hundred Seaventy & Three made between him the said William Flanner the Elder of the one part And Henry Kittle of Rushford in the county of / Norff[olk] gent & John Kettle of Fornham all saints in the county of Suff[olk] gent of the other part for secureing the payment of one Hundred and fifty pounds then due & oweing by the said / William Flanner the Elder to the said Henry Kittle & John Kettle & the Interest thereof did demise grant Bargaine & Sell to the said Henry Kettle & John Kettle their Executo[rs] Admin[istrators] / and Assignes All that Watermill called or known by the name of the Bishops mill & all other the mills messuages Lands Tenements & Hereditam[ents] of the said William Flanner thereunto belonging / or Adjoyneing And allsoe all that peece of meadow ground sometime called the pond yard conteyneing one Acre more or Less with their & every of their Appurtinances To have and / To hold the said watermill meadow ground with their & every of their Appurtinances to the said Henry Kittle & John Kittle their Executo[r]s Admin[istrator]s & Assignes from the day of the / Date of the said Indenture unto the full end & Terme of nine hundred ninty nine yeares without Impeachment of wast under the yearely Rent of one pepper Corne with condi[ti]on {for} the / Payment of the said one Hundred & fifty pounds with interest at a time & place in the said Indenture men[ti]oned And Whereas the said one Hundred & fifty pounds nor the Interest thereof / (nor any part thereof) was paid according to the said condi[ti]on or proviso whereby

the said Tearme of years becam absolute And they the said Henry
 Kittle & John Kittle did take possession / of the said mills &
 p[re]misses & for some time Injoyd the same accordingly And did
 afterwards viz: in or about the month of Aprill Anno Dom one
 Thousand six hundred eighty & seaven (the said William / Flanner 15
 the Elder being then dead) come to an Account with the said
 William Flanner the younger (son & heire to the said Will[ia]m
 Flanner the Elder) by Joseph Sharpe gent his Guardian / (The said
 William Flanner the younger being then A minor) upon the ballance
 of which Account there did then appeare to Remaine due to the said
 Henry Kittle & John Kittle / the Sum of one Hundred & Twelve
 pounds And whereas the said Henry Kittle & John Kittle with the
 consent of the said William Flanner & Joseph Sharpe did by their
 Indenture Tripartite / made the Twenty fourth day of Aprill Anno
 Dom one Thousand Sixhundred & Eighty Seaven Between the said Henry
 Kittle & John Kittle of the first part & the said William Flanner
 the younger / and the said Joseph Sharpe of the second part And
 the said Thomas Sherman of the Third part (the said mills being
 then grown soe ruinous as they were Like to yeild but Little proffitt)
 did for / the considera[ti]on of the sum of one Hundred pounds to 20
 be paid as in the said Indenture is men[ti]oned did Bargaine Sell
 assign & Sett over the said watermills & other the said mortgaged
 p[re]misses / to the said Thomas Sherman his Executo[r]s
 Admin[istrators] & Assignes for the remainder of the said Tearme
 of ninehundred ninty & nine years And wheras the said Thomas Sherman
 did further oblige / himselfe by his Covenant to the said Will[ia]m
 Flann[er] the younger (& the said Joseph Sharpe) that if the said
 William Flanner the younger within one yeare after he should
 accomplish the age of / Twenty one years by good Conveyance in the
 Law should grant & release to the said Thomas his heires or assignes
 the Lawfull Inheritance & rever[si]on of the said watermills &
 p[re]misses with their and / every of their Appurtinances or
 (in case?) the said William Flanner the younger should hapen to
 Depart this Life before his making Such grant & release if then the
 next {heire} or heires to whome / the inheritance & rever[si]on 25
 thereof should desend & Come should by good conveyance (in?) the
 Law grant & release to the said Thomas Sherman his heires or
 assignes the Inheritance & rever[si]on of the / said watermills &
 p[re]misses with their & every one of their ap[p]urtinances & all
 their (estate & interest?) therein with A Covenant & Warrenty against
 all p[er]sons claymeing on which shall or may clayme / by from or
 under him them or any of them or under that said William Flanner the
 Elder then & in such case the said Thomas Sherman his Executo[r]s
 Adm[inistrators] or assignes should pay to the said / William Flanner
 the younger or to Such p[er]son or p[er]sons to whom the Lawfull
 inheritance & rever[si]on of the said p[re]mises should desend & come
 & who should make such grant & release of the / Inheritance &
 rever[si]on thereof with such covenant & warrenty as aforesaid the
 sum of Twenty pounds as Considera[ti]on recompense for such grant &
 release of the said mills & p[re]misses / now This Indenture 30
 wittnesseth that as well in p[re]s[n]ce of the said agreement soe
 made between the said William Flanner the younger & the said Joseph
 {Sharpe} his said / Guarden as in Considera[ti]on of the {s[ai]d} sum

in (-----) of Twenty pouns of Lawfull money of England to her
the said Sarah+ Flanner well & Truely {in} hand paid by the said
Thomas Sherman / att the sealing & delivery hereof the receipt
whereof is hereby Acknowledged by the said Sarah+ Flanner (And the
said Thomas Sherman his heirs Executo[r]s Administrato[r]s / and
Assignes & every of them acquitted exonerated & for ever discharged
by those p[re]sents) and she the said Sarah+ Flanner Hath granted
released & Confirmed & by those / p[re]sents doth grant Release and
confirme unto the said Thomas Sherman in actuall possession thereof
now being by virtue of the s[ai]d mortgage) & to his heires &
assignes All / the said watermills messuages meadows Lands Tenem[en]ts 35
Hereditaments & all & Singular other the p[re]misses with their &
Every of their Appurtinances & the rever[sion] & rever[sions] /
Remainder & remainders rents Issues & proffitts thereof & every part
& parcell thereof To have and to hold the said mills messuages meadows
Hereditam[en]ts] & p[re]misses with / their & every of their
appurtinances to the said Thomas Sherman his heires & assignes to
the sole & proper use of the said Thomas Sherman & of his heires &
assignes for / ever And the said Sarah+ Flanner for her & her
heires the said mills & all & singuler other the p[re]misses with
the appurtinances unto the said Thomas Sherman his heires & assignes /
against her the said Sarah+ Flanner & her heires & all claiming by
from or under her him them or any of them or by from or under the said
William Flanner the Elder the / Late father of the s[ai]d Sarah+ 40
Flanner shall & will warrent & for ever defend by those p[re]sents
And the said Sarah+ Flanner for herselfe her heires Executo[r]s
Admin[istrator]s doth Covenant / promise & grant to & with the Thomas
Sherman his heires & assignes & every of them by those p[re]sents
that it shall & may be Lawfull for the said Thomas Sherman his heires
& assignes from / time to time & at all times for ever hereafter
peaceably & quietly to have hold possess & injoy the said mills & all
& Singuler other the p[re]misses with the appurtinances without / the
Lawfull lett Sute trouble or Interruption of her the said Sarah+
Flanner her heires or assignes or any other p[er]son or p[er]sons
Claimeing or to Claime by from or under her them / or any of them or
under the said William flanner the Elder the Late Father of the said
Sarah+ Flanner {Except the aforesaid Lease of Nine Hundred Ninety &
Nine yeares & such person & p[er]sons as shall lawfully claime by or
under the same} And further that she the said Sarah+ Flanner & her
heires shall & will at any time / or times hereafter within the space 45
of seaven yeares next ensueing the date hereof upon the Request & at
the Cost & Charges in the Law of the said Thomas Sherman his heires
or assignes / doe make Execute & Cause or procure to be made done
Executed or Suffered all & every such further & other act & Acts
Conveyance & assuareance in the Law whatsoever for the further / &
better Conveying & assuareing the said mills & all & singuler other
the p[re]misses with their & every of their Appurtinances unto the
s[ai]d Thomas Sherman his heires or assignes to the / use of the
said Thomas Sherman & his heires & assignes for ever be is by fine
or fines or otherwise howsoever as by the Counsell Learned in the
Law of the said Thomas Sherman / his heires or assignes shall
reasonably devised advised & required soe as such other assurance
Conteyn noe further Covenant or Warranty then is herein & soe as the

parties / to make the same gent desired to Travill above ten miles
from the place of their usual abode for the doeing thereof In
Wittness whereof the s[ai]d / Sarah† Flanner have hereunto sett
her hand & Seale the day & yeare above written /

50

the mark of Sarah x Flanner

on verso:

Sealed & Delivered in the p[re]sence
of
Henry Caudell
William (-----)

4 Feb[ruar]y 1697
Sarah Flanner to Thomas Sherman
Release of Equity of Redemp[ti]on

Memdm that I the within men[ti]oned Sarah† Flanner / doe hereby
confess & acknowledge to have had and / received of the within
men[ti]oned Thomas Sherman / the within men[ti]oned Sum[m] of
Twenty pounds in / full of the Considera[ti]on money in the
within written / Indenture men[ti]oned /

The mark of /
Sarah x Flanner

Wittness
Henry Caudell
William (-----)

Summary

William Flanner the elder owed Henry Kettle and John Kettle the sum of 150 pounds. Flanner the elder, in lieu of paying the sum, passed the property rights of the mill and adjoining grounds to Henry and John Kettle. Henry and John Kettle were to take possession of the mill on September 29, 1673. The terms were that they could lease the mill for 999 years for the yearly rent of one pepper corn. The condition was that the 150 pounds were to be paid at a stipulated time and place. Evidently, the 150 pounds or interest were not paid. Consequently, Henry and John Kettle took possession of the mill. In the meantime, William Flanner the elder died and a new agreement was reached between William Flanner the younger (Joseph Sharpe acting as his guardian) and Henry and John Kettle by an indenture dated April 24, 1687. At this time, Flanner the younger still owed 112 pounds to Henry and John Kettle.

The indenture dated April 24, 1687 was between Henry and John Kettle, William Flanner the younger (with Joseph Sharpe acting as his

†The dagger indicates proper names and place names that were probably added some time later. They are in a different hand in a black ink. The writing resembles black-letter Gothic. Perhaps the document had been prepared some time before, leaving only the names to be filled in.

guardian), and a third party, namely, Thomas Sherman, a miller from King's Lynn. It appears that Sherman took over the remainder of the lease from Henry and John Kettle for 100 pounds. The agreement was that if William Flanner the younger should pass away (which he did), Thomas Sherman should pay the next heir (i.e. Sarah Flanner) the sum of 20 pounds for release of the mill and premisses. The terms of this agreement were fulfilled by this indenture.

Description

Illuminated parchment indenture with seals and stamps, dated July 21, 1719, between Charles and Katharine Bringloe and Thomas and Sarah Garnham (née Flanner) of the one part and William Spinke of the other part. Measures 74 cm x 48 cm.

Transcription

THIS INDENTURE made the Twenty first day of July in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George be the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith [etc]
An[n]oq D[o]m One Thousand Seven / hundred and Nineteen Between Charles Bringloe of the City of Norwich Grocer One of the Sons of Iohn Bringloe late of Banham in the county of Norff[olk] Gent dec[ease]d and Katherine the wife of the said Charles Bringloe and Thomas Garnham of Thetford in the / said county of Norff[olk] Gardiner and Sara his wife (only Surviving Daughter and heir of William Flannar late of Thetford aforesaid Ironmonger dec[ease]d) of the one part and William Spinke of Thetford aforesaid in the said county of Norff[olk] Maulster of / the other part Witnesseth that for and in considera[ti]on of the sum[m]e of Twenty and two pounds and thirteen Shillings of current money of Great Britain to the said Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife in hand paid by the said / William Spinke at and before the Execu[ti]on of these p[re]sents and 5
of the sum[m]e of Seven pounds and Seven Shillings of like money to the said Thomas Garnham and Sarah his wife in hand like wise paid at the same time by the said William Spinke the / several and respective receipts and payments of which said several and respective sum[m]es of money They the said Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham and Sarah his wife Do and each of them doth hereby Severally / and respectively confesse and acknowledge and thereof and of every part thereof Do and each of them doth hereby for themselves Severally and for their Several and respective heirs Executors and Adm[inistrator]s Acquitt and discharge the said William Spinke his heirs / and assignes And for divers other good and valuable cause and considera[ti]ons them the said Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham and Sarah his wife thereunto moving They the said Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife and Thomas / Garnham and Sarah his wife have and each of them hath Granted Bargained Sold Aliened Released and Confirmed and by these p[re]sents Do and each of them Doth Grant Bargain Sell alien Release and Confirm 10
unto the said William Spinke in his / actual possession now being by

vertue of a Bargain and Sale for one year to him thereof made by
 the said Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham
 and Sarah his wife by Indenture bearing date the day next before the
 day of the date of / these p[re]sents and by force of the Statute
 made for transferring of uses into possession) and to his heirs and
 assigns All Those Messuages Tenements or dwelling houses Scituate
 and being in Thetford aforesaid in or near the market place there now
 in the several / Tenures or occupa[ti]ons of Thomas Ralph Robert Hill
 and Rose King widow or their assigns as the same do lye between the
 messuage of Iohn Fryett on the part of the West and the Corn Market
 place on the part of the East and the Street Leading from the Castle
 Lane to the fishmarket / on the part of the North and the Lane
 Leading from the fishmarket to the fleshmarket on the part of the
 South and also all That Stable with a piece of Ground thereunto
 belonging as the Same are Scituate and being between the aforesaid
 Lane leading from the / Fishmarket to the Fleshmarket on the part of
 the North and the street leading from the late Chappell of St. Mary
 towards Nunns Bridges on the part of the south And the Messuage or
 Tenement of William Clarke towards the East and the Barn or Stable
 of Moor towards / the west together with all ways Easements
 Com[m]ons profits and appurtenances whatsoever to the said
 p[re]misses every or any part thereof belonging or in any wise
 appertaining which said p[re]misses were formerly the Inheritance
 of the said William Flannar dec[ease]d and were late / Devised to the
 said Charles Bringloe (& his heirs) in and by the last Will and
 Testament of the said Iohn Bringloe dec[ease]d his late father who
 became intituled to the same from the said William Flannar And the
 Rever[si]on & Rever[si]ons Remainder and Remainders Rents issues
 and / profits thereof and of every part and parcell thereof and all
 the Estate right Title Interest use Trust property Claime and Demand
 whatsoever both in Law and Equity of the said Charles Bringloe and
 Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham and Sarah his wife and / every
 of them of in and to the same and of in and to every part and parcell
 thereof To have and To hold all and every the said Messuages
 Tenements or Dwelling houses and p[re]misses herein and hereby
 Granted and Released or men[ti]oned and / intended so to be with their
 and every of their appurtenances unto the said William Spinke his
 heirs and assigns To the only use and behoofe of the said William
 Spinke and of his heirs and assigns for ever And the said Charles
 Bringloe and Thomas Garnham / for themselves severally and for their
 several wives heirs Executors and Adm[inistrator]s and every of them
 and not the one of them for the other of them or for the wife heirs
 Executors or Adm[inistrator]s or the Acts or Deeds of the other of
 them But each of them for his own wife / heirs Executors and
 Adm[inistrator]s and for his own Acts and Deeds only And also the said
 Charles Bringloe for the Acts and Deeds of the said Iohn Bringloe
 dec[ease]d and for the persons Claiming under him and the said Thomas
 Garnham for the Acts and deeds of the said / William Flannar and the
 persons claiming under him and not otherwise Do and Doth covenant
 promise and Grant to and with the said William Spinke his heirs and
 assigns and every of them for ever by these p[re]sents in manner and
 forme following (that is to say) / That they the said Charles Bringloe
 and Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham and Sarah his wife {some}

15

20

or one of them now have or hath in themselves Some or one of them
Good right full power and Lawfull and absolute authority to Grant
and Release all and every / the aforesaid Messuages Tenements or
Dwellinghouses and p[re]misses with their and every of their
appurtenances unto the said William Spinke his heirs and assignes
according to the true Intent and meaning of these p[re]sents and
also that it shall and may be Lawfull / to and for the said William 25
Spinke his heirs and assignes from time to time and at all times
hereafter peaceably and Quietly to have hold occupy possesse and
Enjoy all and singular the aforesaid Messuages Tenements or Dwelling
houses and p[re]misses with their appurtenance[s] / and the rents
issues and profits thereof and of every part and parcell thereof
to have and receive and take to his and their own proper use and
uses without any Lawfull Lett Suite Trouble Molesta[ti]on Evic[ti]on
or Interrup[ti]on of from or by the said Charles Bringloe / and
Thomas Garnham or other of them their or either of their heirs or
assignes or any other person or persons whomsoever lawfully claiming
or to claime by from or under them either or any of them or by from
or under the said Iohn Bringloe and William Flannar / dec[ease]d or
either of them And That free and clear and freely and clearly
Acquitted Exonerated {& dyscharged} or otherwise by the said Charles
Bringloe and Thomas Garnham or one of them their or one of their
heirs Executors or Administrators saved harmlesse and Indemnified
of from / and against all and all manner of former and other Gifts
Grants Bargains Sales Leases Mortgages Iointures Dowers uses Trusts
Wills Intayles Annuities Iudgements Extents Execu[ti]ons and of and
from all other Estates Titles Troubles Charges and Incumbrances /
whatsoever heretofore had made com[m]itted done or suffered or 30
hereafter to be had made com[m]itted Done or suffered by the said
Charles Bringloe and Katharine his wife and Thomas Garnham and Sarah
his wife or either of them their any or either of their heirs /
Executors or adm[inistrator]s or by any other person or persons
whomsoever lawfully Claiming or to Claime by from or under them
{either} or any of them or by from or under the said Iohn Bringloe
and William Flannar deceased or either of them and lastly / that they
the said Charles Bringloe and Katherine his wife and Thomas Garnham
and Sarah his wife and every of them their and every of their heirs
and assignes and all and every other person and persons now having or
Lawfully Claiming or that at any / time or Times hereafter Shall or
may have or Lawfully claime any Estate Right Title or Interest of in
or to the aforesaid Messuages Tenements or Dwelling houses and
p[re]misses herein and hereby Released and Confirmed or men[ti]oned
and intended so / to be or any part or parcell thereof by from or
under them either or any of them or by from or under the said Iohn
Bringloe and William Flannar dec[ease]d or either of them Shall and
will from time to time and at all times hereafter during the space
of / Twenty Years now next ensuing at and upon the reasonable 35
request and at the Costs and Charges in the Law of the said William
Spinke his heirs or assignes Make Do acknowledge Levy Execute and
Suffer or cause and procure to be made done acknowledged / leveyed
Executed and Suffered all and every such further and other Lawfull
and Reasonable Act and Acts Deed and Deeds Conveyances and assurances
in the Law whatsoever for the further bettermore perfect and also

(h-ce) conveying and {assuring releasing &} / Confirming all and every the same Messuages Tenements or Dwelling houses and p[re]misses herein and hereby Released and Confirmed or men[ti]oned and intended so to be and every part and parcell thereof with their and every of their appurtenances unto the s[ai]d William / Spinke his heirs and assignes be the same by Fine or Fines Recovery or Recoveryes Deed or Deeds Inrolled or not Inrolled or otherwise howsoever as by him the said William Spinke his heirs or assignes or his or their Council learned in the Law shall be / Lawfully and reasonably devised or advised and required So as such Acts and further assurances contain not in them or in any of them any larger Warranty or Covenant for warrants that are in these p[re]sents contained and so as the parties to be / requested to make such further 40 assurance or assurances or any of them be not Compelled or Compellable to travell from his her or their place or places of abode at the time of such request or requests to be made for the doing thereof In Witnesse / whereof the parties to these p[re]sents have to these p[re]sent Indentures interchangeably set their hands and Seales the day and year first above written /

Charles Bringloe
Catherine Bringloe

Thomas Garnham
Sarah Garnham
her x mark

on verso:

Received upon the day of the date of the Indenture within written of and from the within / named William Spinke the sum[m]e of Twenty and two pounds and Thirteen shillings being the full / considera[tion] money within men[ti]oned to be paid to us by him we say rec[eive]d 22. [pounds] 13. [shillings] by us

Test[ament] to the signing by Charles Bringloe
E. Edwards Charles Bringloe
R. Martin
Tho[ma]s Martin

Test[ament] to the signing by Katharine Bringloe
Sam[uel] Wrench Catherine Bringloe
R. Martin

Received upon the day of the date of the Indenture within written of & from the within named / William Spinke the sum[m]e of Seven pounds and Seven shillings being the full considera[tion] / money within men[ti]oned to be paid to us by him we say rec[eive]d 7. [pounds] 7. [shillings] by us

Tho[mas] Garnham
Test[ament] E. Edwards Sarah Garnham
R. Martin her x mark
Tho[ma]s Martin

Sealed and Delivered (this parchment being (nebly?) stamped) / by the within named Charles Bringloe Thomas Garnham & Sarah his wife /

in the p[re]sence of us
E. Edwards
R. Martin
Tho[ma]s Martin

Sealed and delivered by the within named Katharine Bringloe./
in the p[re]sence of us
Sam[ue]l Wrench
R. Martin

Mr Bringloe & (ad?)	21 Iuly 1719	N. 12
to		
Mr W[illia]m Spinke	Release of Inheritance	

Summary

This indenture is the release of inheritance to one William Spinke. The land was located in the town of Thetford and was part of the inheritance of Sarah Garnham (née Flanner) from her father William Flanner the elder. There is no mention of Bishop's Mill or any mill in this document. Consequently, although the document is of interest as far as the Flanner family goes, it does not specifically pertain to the mill. However, there are points of interest. Part of the property is bounded by the "street leading from the late Chappell of St. Mary towards Nunns Bridges on the part of the south..." (line 14). The "late Chappell of St. Mary" suggests the chapel of the College of Bailly End. It is likely that the chapel stood in, or very near, the market-place of Thetford. In 1547 it was resigned into the hands of Edward VI and the college and chapel were soon afterward destroyed. (1) Therefore, at the time of the writing of this indenture (1719) it was referred to as the "late Chappell of St. Mary." This chapel could be the same Saint Maries Church referred to in the next indenture on line 24.

Description

Illuminated parchment indenture with seals and stamps, dated January 1, 1721. It is between John Tosticke, his three sisters Mary, Anne, and Margaret, Margaret's husband Richard How, apothecary, of the one part and Sir Thomas Hammer of the other part. The indenture consists of two parchment sheets measuring approximately 82 cm x 57 cm and 82 cm x 33 cm. The smaller sheet is attached at the bottom to the front of the larger sheet.

¹Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, pp. 460-61.

Transcription

THIS INDENTURE made the first day of January in the Eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George by the grace of God Great / Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith [etc]
An[n]oq D[o]m one Thousand Seven Hundred Twenty and one Between Iohn Tosticke now or late of Thetford in the county of Norf[olk] Singleman / (only son & heir of Iohn Tosticke late of Thetford aforesaid miller dec[ease]d) Richard How of Thetford aforesaid apothecary and Margaret his Wife Mary Tosticke of the same Town & County / Spinster and Anne Tosticke now or late of Thetford aforesaid Spinster (which said Margaret Mary and Anne are three of the Daughters of the Said Iohn Tosticke deceased of the / one part and S[ir] Thomas Hanmer of Mildenhall in the county of Suff[olk] Baronet of the other part Witnesseth that the said John Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard How and / Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke for and in Considera[ti]on of Ten Shillings apeice of current money of Great Britain to them in hand Severally paid by the / said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer at and before the Ensealing and Delivery of these p[re]sents the several and respective receipts and payments whereof they the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these / p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke Do & Each and every of them doth hereby respectively Confesse and Acknowledge and thereof and / of every part and parcell thereof Do and Every of them doth hereby respectively for themselves and every of them & for their and every of their respective Heirs Executors and / assignes acquit and discharge the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer his Heirs and assignes and every of them forever by these p[re]sents and for divers other good causes and / valuable considerations them the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke thereunto respectively / 'mooeing?' have & each & every of them hath remised released and for quitt claimed and by these p[re]sents they the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret / his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke do & each and every of them doth fully and absolutely remise release and for ever quit claime unto the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer (in / his actual possession) now being by virtue of a certain Ind[entu]re of Assignment Tripartite bearing date on or about the Fifth day of March which was in the year of our Lord / one Thousand Seven Hundred and two and made or men[ti]oned to be made between Henry Kettle of Thetford in the county of Norf[olk] Gent (since deceased) and John Kettle the Elder of the Same Town / in the county of Suffolke Gent of the first part the aforesaid Iohn Tosticke deceased of the Second part and the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer by the name of S[ir] Thomas Hanmer of Euston / in the county of Suffolk Baronet of the third part and also by vertue of a certain Indenture bearing date on or about the Twentieth day of September and in the year of our Lord / One Thousand Seven Hundred and three and made or men[ti]oned to be made between Thomas Sherman of Kings Lynn in the county of Norf[olk] miller and Elizabeth his wife / Thomas Garnham of Thetford in the said county of Norffolke Gardiner and Sarah his wife and the aforesaid Iohn Tosticke dec[ease]d of the one part and the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer / by the name of S[ir]

5
10
15
20

Thomas Hanmer of Euston hall in the county of Suffolke Baronet of
 the other part and of a fine leyed {pursuant} thereunto) and to
 his heirs and assigns forever All that / watermill called or
 Knowne by the name of Bishops mill now used as and for a paper
 mill all other the mills thereunto belonging and adjoyning and the
 mes[s]uage or Tenement houses edificies / buildings yards Backsides
 ways watergates Banks Liberties Easements profits and com[m]odities
 whatsoever thereunto belonging accepted and taken as part and
 parcell or member / thereof And also all that peice or parcell
 of meadow or ground Sometimes called the pond yard containing by
 estima[ti]on one acre more or less scituate lying and being
 together in Thetford / aforesaid in the Counties of Norff[olk] and
 Suff[olk] or either of them next the com[m]on high way leading
 from Nunns Bridges to Saint Maries Church and so to Brandon /
 towards the west and the River in part towards the East and next 25
 the Close late of Robert Snelling Gent Since of Wormly Hethersett
 Gent and now of Ioseph / Sharpe Gent called the Spanish those
 towards the South and next a Lane leading from the aforesaid highway
 unto the said mills towards the North or howsoever / the said
 p[re]misses maybe otherwise known and abuttalled with all and
 singular their and every of their ways Easements com[m]ons rights
 priviledges and appurten[an]ces / whatsoever And also all the Estate
 right Title Interest Rever[si]on and rever[si]ons Remainder and
 Remainders use Trust property Benefit advantage Equity of
 Redemp[ti]on / claime and demand whatsoever both in Law and Equity
 of them the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard
 How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and / Anne Tosticke and 30
 each and every of them of into and out of the said hereby released
 or men[ti]oned to be released p[re]misses with their appurten[an]ces
 and of into and / out of any part or parcell thereof which said
 p[re]misses were heretofore the Inheritance of William Flan[er] late
 of Thetford aforesaid Ironmong[e]r dec[ease]d & by {him} formerly
 {morgaged} to the said / Henry Kettle and Iohn Kettle for a term of
 years the residue whereof was assigned to the said Sir Thom[as]
 Hanmer by the Indenture of assignment herein before / men[ti]oned
 and the Rever[si]on and Equity of redemp[ti]on of which said
 p[re]misses by divers mes[s]u[ag]e assignments did become after wards
 vested in the said Iohn Tosticke / dec[ease]d who joined in the
 making the aforesaid assignment To Have and to Hold the said mills
 mes[s]uage peice of meadow Ground & all other p[re]misses herein and /
 hereby remised and released or men[ti]oned and Intended so to be with 35
 their appurten[an]ces unto the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer his heirs and
 assigns To the onely use & / behoofe of the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer
 and of his heirs and assigns for ever So that neither the said Iohn
 Tosticke party to these p[re]sents Richard How & Margaret / his wife
 Mary Tosticke & Anne Tosticke every or any of them their every or any
 of their heirs Ex[ecu]tors Adm[inistra]tors or assigns or any of them
 Shall or will at any time or times / hereafter have claime challenge
 or demand any Estate right Title Interest Equity or redemp[ti]on
 Trust Benefit or property of in or to the Same mills messuage / peice
 of meadow Ground and p[re]misses or of in or to - any part parcell
 thereof But thereof and therefrom and of and from every part and
 parcell thereof they the / said Iohn Tosticke (party to these 40

p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke and every of them their and every of their heirs Exec[utor]s / administrators and assignes and every of them shall and will be for ever extended and debarred by these p[re]sents And the said Iohn Tosticke (part to these p[re]sents) for / himself his heirs Exec[utor]s and adm[inistrator]s and the said Richard How for himself his heirs Exec[utor]s and adm[inistrator]s and for the said Margaret his wife and the said Mary Tosticke and / Anne Tosticke for themselves severally and for their several heirs Executors and administrators and not the one of the said parties for the other of them or for the / wife heirs executors or administrators or for the acts or deeds of the other of them Do and Doth hereby covenant promise and Grant to and with the said S[ir] Thomas / Hanmer his heirs and assignes in manner and forme following (that is to say) That {-----} S[ir] Thomas Hanmer} his heirs and assignes shall or lawfully may for ever hereafter / peaceably and quietly have hold occupy possesse and Enjoy the aforesaid mills mes[s]uage and peice of meadow Ground and p[re]misses herein and / hereby released or men[ti]oned so to be and the rents issues and profits thereof and of every part thereof to his and their own proper uses to have take / and receive without any lawfull lett suit Trouble molestation Eviction or Interruption of from or by the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) / Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke or any of them their or any of their heirs Executors or administrators / or any other person or persons whomsoever lawfully claimeing or to claime by from or under him them or any of them And That free and clear and / freely and clearly acquitted Exonerated and discharged by the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary / Tosticke and Anne Tosticke or Some or one of Them their Some or one of their heirs Executors or administrators well and Sufficiently indempnified / and saved harmlesse of from and against all and all manner of former and other Titles Troubles charges and {Incumbrances} whatsoever had made com[m]itted / done or suffered or to be had made com[m]itted done or suffered by the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret / his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke every or any of them their every or any of their heirs Executors or administrators or any other person or / persons lawfully claimeing or to claime by from or under them every or any of them And Lastly they the said Iohn Tosticke (party to these / p[re]sents) Richard How and Margaret his wife Mary Tosticke and Anne Tosticke and each and every of them and all and every other person or {persons} / now haveing or lawfully claimeing or which at any time or times hereafter shall or may have or lawfully claime any Estate right Title / or Interest of in or to the said mills mes[s]uage peice of meadow Ground and p[re]misses herein and hereby remised and released or men[ti]oned and Intended so to be / by from or under them or any of them Shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter upon the reasonable request and at the Costs and / charges in the Law or the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer his heirs or assignes make doe acknowledge Levy Execute and Suffer or cause and promise to be / made done acknowledged levyed Executed and Suffered all and every Such further and other Lawfull and reasonable act and acts Deed and Deeds Conveyances / and assurances in the Law

whatsoever for the further better & more perfect releaseing setting
 and assuring of all and every the Same mills mes[s]uage peice /
 of meadow Ground and p[re]misses with their appurtenances unto and
 to the use of the said S[ir] Thomas Hanmer his heirs and assignes as
 by him the said S[ir] Thomas / Hanmer his heirs or assignes or his
 or their counsell learned in the Law shall be lawfully and
 reasonably devised or advised and required In Witnesse whereof the /
 parties to these p[re]sents have to these p[re]sent Inde[n]tur[es]
 interchangeably sett their hands and seales the day and year first
 above written /

65

John Tostuck Richard How Margaret How Mary Tostuck Ann Tostuck their
 seals

on verso:

Received upon the day of the date of the Indenture within written /
 of and from the within named S[ir] Thomas Hanmer the sum[m]e of /
 Ten Shillings apeice being the full considera[ti]on money / within
 mentioned to be paid by him to us we say rec[eive]d by us /

To (-----) to the signing by Rich[ar]d How	Rich[ar]d How
Marg[are]t his wife	R. Martin
	R[ichar]d Wythe
	Margaret How
	Mary Tostuck
	John Tostuck
	Ann Tostuck

Test[ament] to the signing by Mary Tosticke	R. Martin	R[ichare]d Wythe
---	-----------	------------------

To the signing by John Tostuck	R. Martin	Tho[mas] Martin
--------------------------------	-----------	-----------------

Test[ament] to the signing by Anne Tostuck
Hadley Doyly
Tho[mas] Petty

Sealed and Delivered this skin of parchment & also the skin or peice
 of parchm[en]t / hereunto annexed being either of them only (nobly?)
 stamped by the within named / John Tostuck in the p[re]sence of us
 R. Martin Tho[mas] Martin

Sealed and Delivered by the within named Rich[ar]d How & Marg[are]t /	
his wife in the p[resenc]e of us	R. Martin
	R[ichar]d Wythe

Sealed & Delivered by the within named / Anne Tostuck in the p[re]sence	
of us	Hadley Doyly
	Tho[mas] Petty

Sealed And Delivered by the within named / Mary Tosticke in the	
p[re]sence of us	R. Martin
	R[ichar]d Wythe

27 Jan[uar]y 1721

John Tosticke & (ad?)
to
S[ir] Thomas Hanmer

Release of right to
the watermill in Thetford

Summary

This indenture is an agreement between the heirs of John Tosticke Sr, namely, John Tosticke Jr, Richard How and his wife Margaret How (née Tosticke), Mary Tosticke, and Anne Tosticke of the one part and Sir Thomas Hanmer of the other part. Sir Thomas Hanmer paid each of the others the sum of ten shillings for rights to Bishop's Mill.

For the first time we have an indication that the mill was being used as a paper mill. Consequently, we know that it was already operating as a paper mill by the year 1721. There is also a description of its location, although it is rather vague. It appears that the mill may have been located on the Norfolk side of Thetford, by the river. The boundary of the property on the west was the highway leading from Nunns Bridges to "Saint Maries Church" and on to Brandon (line 24). The eastern boundary was the river. The southern boundary was the property of Joseph Sharpe, and the norther boundary was a lane leading from the highway (from Nunns Bridges to Saint Maries Church mentioned above) to the mill (lines 25 and 26).

It is possible that the Saint Maries Church mentioned in this indenture is the same as the St. Mary's Chapel located in or near the market-place in Thetford mentioned in the second indenture. If this is the case, the highway goes in a northerly direction from Nunns Bridges into Thetford on the Norfolk side of the river. Moreover, the river which bounds the property on the east curves in a northerly direction east of Nunns Bridges. Thus, it could be that the mill and property were located west of Nunns Bridges at the point where the river curves northward (see map Appendix III). On the basis of this evidence, we believe that the mill was located on the Norfolk side of the river.

SUMMARY OF INDENTURES

The summary given after each indenture in the preceding transcriptions was only a brief summary relating the principal contents of each document. However, the documents contain references to other indentures, references which are very useful in tracing the history of Bishop's Mill and give a time span within which it became a paper mill. Only the first and third indentures are relevant. The second indenture concerns property in which Sarah Garnham (née Flanner) had an interest and which lay in the town of Thetford. The references to the other indentures contained in the indenture of February 4, 1697 and that of January 1, 1721, will be given in chronological order.

Indenture of September 29, 1673.*

Henry Kettle of Rushford and John Kettle of Fornham Allsaints obtained a lease on Bishop's Mill for nine-hundred and ninety-nine years in lieu of payment of the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds owed to them by William Flanner the elder. Consequently, Henry Kettle and John Kettle took possession of the mill.

Indenture Tripartite of April 24, 1687.*

The indenture was between Henry Kettle and John Kettle of the first part, William Flanner Jr (Joseph Sharpe acting as his guardian) of the second part, and Thomas Sherman, miller from Lynn Regis, of the third part. At this point the balance on the account owing to Henry Kettle and John Kettle by the heirs of William Flanner the elder was one hundred and twelve pounds. However, Henry Kettle and John Kettle assigned the remainder of the lease to Thomas Sherman for one hundred pounds. Thomas Sherman in turn made an agreement with William Flanner Jr. Within one year after William Flanner Jr reached the age of twenty-one, he should release the rights of the watermill to Thomas Sherman for twenty pounds. William Flanner Jr died and it fell to his heirs to carry out the agreement.

* Indicates that the dates are extracted from the indenture of February 4, 1697.

Indenture of February 4, 1697.

This indenture is between Sarah Flanner and Thomas Sherman and is the fulfillment of the terms set out in the 1687 indenture, i.e., William Flanner Jr had died and it fell to Sarah Flanner to make the agreement with Thomas Sherman. The indenture is a release of rights to the watermill to Thomas Sherman for twenty pounds.

Indenture of Assignment, March 5, 1702.**

This was an Indenture of Assignment Tripartite made among three parties, namely, Henry Kettle and John Kettle of Thetford of the first part, John Tosticke Sr, miller of Thetford of the second part, and Sir Thomas Hanmer of Euston of the third part. In this indenture, the residue of the mortgage owned by Henry Kettle and John Kettle from the inheritance of William Flanner the elder was assigned to Sir Thomas Hanmer. The reversion and equity of redemption were vested in John Tosticke Sr. Presumably, Hanmer took over the mill from Henry and John Kettle and assigned the lease to John Tosticke Sr.

Indenture of September 20, 1703.**

This indenture was between Thomas and Elizabeth Sherman of Kings Lynn, Thomas Garnham and Sarah Garnham (née Flanner), and John Tosticke Sr of the one part, and Sir Thomas Hanmer of the other part. This indenture may have been a *Release and Conveyance of Lands* or an *Assignment* document. It appears that this is the end of any interest that the Flanner heirs held in the mill and that Sir Thomas Hanmer now had a controlling interest, if not outright ownership of, the mill.

Indenture of January 1, 1721.

The indenture appears to be a *Form of a Release and Conveyance of Lands* document (cf. column 15 under the entry for "Lease" in Giles Jacob, *A New Law-Dictionary*, 6th edition, 1750). The agreement is between the heirs of John Tosticke Sr, namely, John Tosticke Jr, Richard How, apothecary, and his wife Margaret How (née Tosticke), Mary Tosticke, and Anne Tosticke of the one part and Sir Thomas Hanmer of the other part. Sir Thomas Hanmer paid each of the others the sum of ten shillings for rights to the mill. It appears that Sir Thomas Hanmer now owned the mill. This is the first mention of the fact that Bishop's Mill was being used as a paper mill.

There are many gaps in the documentation and we can't be precise about the exact nature of the transactions. However, we can sketch in

** Indicates that the dates are extracted from the indenture of January 1, 1721.

in the following details based on our examination and interpretation of the facts.

Henry Kettle and John Kettle first obtained an interest in the mill in 1673 which they held until 1702. In 1687 an agreement was reached among three parties, namely, Henry Kettle and John Kettle of the one part, Thomas Sherman of the second part, and William Flanner Jr of the third part. Thomas Sherman acquired an interest in the mill from Henry and John Kettle for one hundred pounds. The rights to the mill were to be signed over to him by William Flanner Jr one year after he reached the age of twenty-one years for the sum of twenty pounds. In case of the death of William Flanner Jr, his heirs were to sign over the rights. William Flanner Jr died before reaching the age of twenty-one and Sarah Flanner honoured the agreement by the indenture dated February 4, 1697. Since Thomas Sherman was a miller by occupation, he probably used Bishop's Mill as a grist mill from that point on.

On March 5, 1702 there was another three-part agreement, this time among Henry Kettle and John Kettle of the first part, John Tosticke Sr, miller, of the second part, and Sir Thomas Hanmer of the third part. By this agreement, Henry Kettle and John Kettle give up all interests in the mill and turn it over to Sir Thomas Hanmer. He, in turn, leased the mill to John Tosticke Sr. On September 20, 1703, an agreement is reached between Thomas and Elizabeth Sherman, Thomas and Sarah Garnham (née Flanner), and John Tosticke Sr of the one part and Sir Thomas Hanmer of the second part. This indenture signals the end of the interests held in the mill by Thomas Sherman and Sarah Garnham, heir of William Flanner. Apparently, Hanmer now had a controlling interest in the mill and continued to lease it to John Tosticke Sr. Since John Tosticke Sr was also a miller by occupation, he probably used Bishop's Mill as a grist mill.

The indenture of January 1, 1721 is of most interest. On line twenty to twenty-one it mentions that Bishop's Mill was used as a paper mill. The indenture is an agreement between the heirs of John Tosticke Sr and Sir Thomas Hanmer. It appears to be a *Release and Conveyance of Lands* document and Sir Thomas Hanmer now takes full control of the property and mill.

The mill must have been converted to a paper mill sometime between 1697 and 1721. Henry and John Kettle were probably not millers and it appears that the mill stood idle for some time since it had fallen into a state of disrepair by 1687.¹ Thomas Sherman was a miller by occupation and he was obviously interested in obtaining a mill. Whether or not Sherman used the mill immediately after the agreement of April 24, 1687 is not certain. It is probable that he was using the mill from 1697 to 1702 or 1703, probably as a grist mill. In 1702, John Tosticke Sr acquired use of the mill. In March of 1702, Henry and John Kettle gave up their interest in the mill to Sir Thomas Hanmer and he, in turn, came to an agreement with John Tosticke Sr. A later agreement in September of 1703, signals the end of the interest in the mill held by the heirs of William Flanner and by Thomas Sherman. John Tosticke Sr still held an interest in the mill. Since he was also a miller by occupation, he probably used Bishop's Mill as a grist mill. Thus, in 1703 Bishop's Mill was still a grist mill. By the year 1721, John Tosticke Sr had died and Hanmer had taken control of Bishop's Mill. We speculate that the conversion took place sometime after 1703 and 1721. Moreover, we believe that the conversion probably took place soon after John Tosticke Sr had died. If the deathdate of John Tosticke Sr could be pinpointed, we would likely be very close to the date of conversion to the papermill.

There are other interesting facts that we can extract from the documents. Sarah Flanner's marriage to Thomas Garnham took place between February 4, 1697 and September 20, 1703. In the indenture of 1697 she was named as Sarah Flanner, spinster; in the indenture of 1703 she was named as the wife of Thomas Garnham.² We can also approximate the birthdate of William Flanner Jr. In the indenture of 1687 he had not yet reached the age of twenty-one since he was still a minor.³ In the indenture of 1697 he was deceased and the inheritance passed

¹See the indenture of February 4, 1697, line 19 where it states: "the said mills being then [1687] grown soe ruinous as they were like to yeild but Little proffitt."

²See the indenture of January 1, 1721, line 19.

³See the indenture of February 4, 1697, lines 14-16.

on to Sarah Flanner. Consequently, the earliest he could have been born is 1677 and before April of 1687. Thus, his birthdate lies between 1677 and 1687. We also know that William Flanner the elder was deceased before 1687.⁴

⁴See the indenture of February 4, 1697, line 14-15.

CONCLUSION

The indentures have shown that Bishop's Mill was operating as a paper mill by the year 1721. The most likely date for conversion to a paper mill lies between 1703 and 1721.¹ John Tosticke Sr was a miller and it is likely that he continued to use Bishop's Mill as a grist mill after he was assigned a lease in 1703. Possibly, the mill was converted after his death, and thus, if we could determine his deathdate we may be very close to the date when the mill was converted. An interesting possibility is that the year for conversion was 1720. The indenture date, January 1, 1721, suggests that John Tosticke Sr may have deceased the previous year. Obviously, Hanmer would be forced to make provisions to continue operating the mill. Consequently, he would have to make an agreement with the Tosticke heirs resulting in the indenture of 1721. This would place the date for conversion to a paper mill nearer to 1720.

The location of the mill also presents problems. From the location description of the Flanner properties in the second and third indentures, we believe that the mill was located on the Norfolk side of the river, just west of Nunns Bridges. We are quite certain that the "late Chappell of St. Mary" in the second indenture is the chapel of the College of Baily End which stood in the market-place of Thetford. It was in proximity to Nunns Bridges. It appears that "Saint Maries Church" in the third indenture is also in proximity to Nunns Bridges, and thus, it could be the same chapel. If that is the case, the highway by which Bishop's Mill was bounded on the west went from Nunns Bridges north into the town and on to Brandon. Obviously, this is all located on the Norfolk side of Thetford. Moreover, the river curves

¹In reality, we could place the dates between 1703 and 1720 since the date of the third indenture is January 1, 1721.

in a northward direction just west of Nunns Bridges. This would probably be the eastern boundary of the property on which Bishop's Mill stood.

SELECTED AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following items constitute a selected bibliography of the support sources concerning the history of Bishop's Mill. Included in this bibliography are sources concerning English writing hands and their transcription, British chronology, papermaking, contemporary historical works, road books, and dictionaries. We were able to examine many of these sources but, unfortunately, a few very important contemporary historical sources were not available to us. These are not accompanied by annotations.

Paleography

Dawson, Giles, E., and Kennedy-Skipton, Laetitia. *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts*. London: Faber & Faber, 1966.

Useful for guidance on editorial procedures employed by the authors. Concentrates on the main types of Gothic script, particularly secretary script. Provides a variety of hands and forms.

Denholm-Young, N. *Handwriting in England and Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1964.

Discusses the history of paleography. Chapters on abbreviations and secretary hand. Includes rules for transcription.

Emmison, F.G. *How to Read Local Archives 1550-1700*. London: The Historical Association, 1967.

Facsimiles of a wide variety of the English secretary hand along with the transcription of each document.

Hector, L.C. *The Handwriting of English Documents*. Dorking: Kohler and Coombs, 1980.

A concise guide with plates and transcripts illustrating a great variety of hands from A.D. 700 to 1830. One chapter is devoted to abbreviation and contraction.

Parkes, M.B. *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Emphasis is on the major varieties of English cursive handwriting from the period and the principal developments which

took place. Useful for the editorial procedures employed by the author.

Wright, C.E. *English Vernacular Hands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Perhaps not too useful for our purpose but nevertheless interesting to examine solutions to transcription problems.

Chronology

Cheney, Christopher R. *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1961.

Valuable for determining dates of documents dated by regnal years, saints' days, and so forth.

Powicke, F.M.; Johnson, C.; and Harte, W.J. *Handbook of British Chronology*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1939.

Contains many useful lists with dates of English kings, bishops, and other officers and a chapter on various methods of reckoning time.

Ware, R. Dean. "Medieval Chronology: Theory and Practise," *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1976.

Covers a number of aspects of medieval chronology as well as a discussion of English chronology.

Papermaking

Coleman, D.C. *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.

Studies the major economic and technical problems of paper producers between 1495, the earliest date known for the existence of a paper mill in England, and 1860, which was near the end of the paper Excise and also when raw materials other than rags were used by the industry.

Shorter, A.H. *Paper Making in the British Isles*. Devon: David and Charles (Publishers), 1971.

"...traces the evolution and development of paper making;... conveys a geographical picture of the diversity and wide distribution, both past and present, of the paper industry in the British Isles." (from the Preface, p. 11)

. *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495-1800*. *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, Vol. VI. Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1957.

Presents an historical geography of the paper making industry in the British Isles. Through a systematic investigation using

excise records, insurance policies, and newspapers for the eighteenth century, Shorter has identified and located the great majority of paper mills. Source for documentation of the Thetford paper mill.

Historical Sources

+Blomefield, Francis. *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*.... Second edition, 11 vols. London, 1805-1810. Gross #628. Thetford is found in vol. ii, pp. 1-147.

+_____. *The history of the ancient city and burgh of Thetford, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; shewing its rise, increase, decrease, and present state*. Fersfield, 1739. Gross #2885. From his *History of Norfolk* (#628), vol. i.

Camden, William. *Britannia: or, a Chorographical Description of the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent; from the Earliest Antiquity*. 3 vols. Translated by... Richard Gough. London: Printed by John Nichols, for T. Payne and Son, Castle-Street, St. Martin's and G.G.J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Row, 1789.

Provides a brief history and description of each county in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The physical conformations and features of each region are outlined. Maps of the counties are given.

Gross, Charles. *A Bibliography of British Municipal History: Including Gilds and Parliamentary Representation*. Second edition with a preface by G.H. Martin. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966.

This was first published as Volume V of *Harvard Historical Studies* by Longmans, Green, New York. An important bibliographical tool for the study of British municipal history. Many of the sources given by Gross are contemporary to the indentures.

+Hunt, A.L. *The capital of the ancient kingdom of East Anglia, "the mighty city in the east": being a complete and authentic history of the ancient borough town of Thetford*.... London, 1870. Gross #2886.

+LeStrange, Hamon. *Norfolk official lists, from the earliest period to the present day*. Norwich, 1890.

Gross #629. Lists of town officers and members of Parliament of Castle Rising, Lynn, Norwich, Thetford, and Yarmouth.

[†]The dagger indicates that these sources are taken from Gross. These sources have not been examined because they were unavailable. The numbers are references to where they may be found in Gross.

+L'Estrange, John, and Rye, Walter. *Norfolk Guilds*. Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, Norfolk Archaeology, vii. 105-21. Norwich, 1872.
Gross #2481.

+Martin, Thomas. *The history of the town of Thetford, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, from the earliest accounts to the present time*. London, 1779.
Gross #2887.

Page, William, ed. *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Archibald Constable, 1906.
A detailed comprehensive history of the county of Norfolk. A chapter each is devoted to its ecclesiastical history, its religious houses, and its political history. The listings of the religious houses was especially useful in identifying the landmarks mentioned in the indentures.

+Rye, Walter. *A history of Norfolk*. [Popular County Histories]. London, 1885.
Gross #630.

+Rye, Walter. *An index to Norfolk topography*. Index Society. London, 1881.

+Woodward, Samuel. *The Norfolk topographer's manual: being a catalogue of the books and engravings hitherto published in relation to the county: by the late Mr. Samuel Woodward. The whole revised and augmented by W.C. Ewing...* London, etc., 1842.
Gross #34.

Atlases and Road Books

Bowen, Emanuel, and Kitchin, Thomas. *The Royal English Atlas*. Devon: David & Charles Reprints, 1971.

Facsimile edition consisting of a map of England and Wales and forty-three county maps. The maps are of historical and geographical interest. They list the Earls and Dukes of the various counties, seats of nobility, churches or chapels, religious houses, mills, and a number of other items. Thetford mill could not be located on this map.

Carey, J. *Carey's New Itinerary; or, an Accurate Delineation of the Great Roads, ... throughout England and Wales; ...* London: Printed for John Carey, 1798.

A source book which furnishes information for the various English towns and villages. Indexes are provided to the County Seats, the cross roads and direct roads from London. Names of inns are given and the various market days held in the towns. There was no mention of a paper mill at Thetford.

Crosby, B. *Crosby's complete Pocket Gazetteer of England and Wales, ...* London: Printed by J.D. Dewick, Aldersgate-Street, For B. Crosby and Stationer's Court, 1807.

Crosby gives a concise history of the town of Thetford, size of the town, and its major economic industries. Here we find that among the industries mentioned is a reference to a paper mill, although the mill is not named.

Owen, John, and Bowen, Emanuel. *Britannia Depicta or Ogilby Improved*,... T. Bowen, 1720; reprint ed., Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Frank Graham Ltd., 1970.

The facsimile edition is printed from the earliest known impression. The book is a reduced copy of Ogilby's *Britannia*. The text compiled by Owen is engraved in the form of marginal notes, but did not yield information about Bishop's mill in Thetford.

Paterson, Daniel. *Paterson's British Itinerary.... Roads of Great Britain in Two Volumes*. London: Printed for and Sold by the Proprieter Carington Bowles..., 1785.

Includes a general map of all the direct roads, a full and comprehensive index to the direct roads, cross roads, and roads of Great Britain. Paterson relates historical anecdotes of each town, gives the market days, and names of the nobility in the area.

_____. *A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Britain*,... London: Printed for T. Carman, in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1771.

Paterson follows the design of Ogilby's maps. Gives the same type of information as in his *British Itinerary*.

Dictionaries

Jacob, Giles. *A New Law-Dictionary*... Sixth edition. London, 1750.

Eighteenth century law proceedings are noted together with interpretations and definitions of law terms used in the indentures.

Lewis, Samuel. *A Topographical Dictionary of England*... Vol. IV. 3rd. London: S. Lewis & Co., 1835.

Historical and statistical descriptions of the cities, boroughs, corporate and market towns, parishes, chapelries and townships are outlined. There was no mention of the existence of a paper mill in Thetford.

Stephen, Sir Leslie, and Lee, Sir Sidney. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. VIII. London: Oxford University Press, 1917.

Alphabetical lists of persons of importance down to the death of Queen Victoria. An account of the life of Sir Thomas Hanmer is given in this volume on page 1182. None of the other names in the indentures were found in this source.

Catalogues

Catalogue of Atlases, Maps and Printed Books Relating to Travel and Exploration. London: Sotheby's, June 10th and 11th, 1982.

The catalogue was found to be a very useful bibliographical source for eighteenth century roadbooks and maps.

APPENDIX I

Religious Houses in Thetford

1. Nunnery of St. George, Thetford (Benedictine nuns). The nunnery was located on the Suffolk side of the river.
2. Priory of St. Mary, Thetford (Cluniac monks). It was originally located in the church of St. Mary, the abandoned cathedral church of the East Anglian bishops, and was located on the Suffolk side of the river. In ca 1107 it was moved to the Norfolk side of the river and was probably named St. Mary. It is possible that this is the St. Mary's referred to in the indentures.
3. Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, Thetford (Austin canons). It was located on the Suffolk side of the river. It is interesting to note that the canons received from Hamelin, Earl Warenne, the tithes of two mills. If indeed these mills were located on the lands of the Austin canons, could one of these have been Bishop's mill?
4. Dominican Friary, Thetford. The church of St. Mary on the Suffolk side of the river, originally the cathedral church of the East Anglian bishops (see 2, above) was granted to the Dominican Friars in 1335. It had remained empty for two centuries after the Cluniac monks moved from St. Mary's to their Norfolk site (see 2, above).
5. Austin Friary, Thetford. Their church was located at Castle Hill, the entrance to the town of Thetford.
6. God's House or Domus Dei, Thetford (Hospital). The hospital was located on the Suffolk side of the river. Apparently, in 1335 it was under the control of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre (see 3, above).
7. Hospital of St. Mary and St. Julian, Thetford. It was usually known as St. Julian's chapel. The hospital stood at the foot of the bridge (Nunns' Bridges?) on the Norfolk side of the river.
8. Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, Thetford. It was located outside of the town on the right-hand side of the road to Norwich.
9. Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Thetford.
10. Hospital of St. John, Thetford. It was located on the Suffolk side

of the town and eventually came under the control of the Austin friars of Thetford (see 5, above).

11. Hospital of St. Margaret, Thetford. It was located on the Suffolk side of the town of Thetford.
12. College of Bailly End, or Gild of St. Mary, Thetford. Apparently, the chapel was located in the market-place of Thetford. It is possible that this was the St. Mary's referred to in the indentures (cf. 2, above). (1)

¹All this information is taken from Page, *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, vol. 2, pp. 315-466. The relevant numbers to the religious houses in Thetford are: 14, 19, 33, 60, 61, 97-102, and 114.

APPENDIX II

PROBLEM

SOLUTION

an²og Dm

An[en]og D[co]m

appurten²es

appurten[anc]es

Consideration

considera[ti]on

de²g

decrease[d]

Exeruto² Admin²

Execu[t]ors Ad[ministra]tors

Fla²ner

Flan[er]

hereditam²

hereditam[ents]

Indie^s

Ind[enture]re

mentio²ned

men[tition]ed

2^{ok}

Part]

premisses

pre]misses

peers

peer]sons

Rever²son

Rever[sion]

APPENDIX III

The accompanying map shows where we believe Bishop's Mill was located in Thetford. This hand-drawn map is based on a British Ordnance Survey map.¹ The scale of the Ordnance Survey map is 2 cm to 1 km or approximately 1 in. to the mile. The river is coloured in blue and the red dot shows the position of the mill.

¹Great Britain. [Ordnance Survey]. 1:50,000. Southampton: Director General of the Ordnance Survey. *Thetford & Breckland*, sheet 144, 1974.

